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Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: ARA/LA:PJDEVOS
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAM D. ROGERS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO USUN, GENEVA, EC BRUSSELS, BONN, LONDON, EEXICO , PARIS, DEC 9, FROM TOKYO RPTD TO YOU:

QUOTE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TOKYO 16036

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: UNCTAD, EGEN, UN, JA
SUBJ: JAPANESE POSITION ON CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES

REF: (A) TOKYO 15970 (B) STATE 269222

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING EMBASSY APPROACHES TO FONOFF DEPUTY VICE MINISTER OKAWARA AND ECON AFFAIRS DIV/UN BUREAU DIRECTOR TANIGUCHI, VICE MIN TOGO CALLED IN CHARGE TO EXPLAIN GOJ'S ABSTENTION ON CHARTER VOTE AND ASSERT THERE WAS NO CHANCE OF JAPAN'S CHANGING TO NEGATIVE VOTE AT PLENARY SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. IN DISCUSSION WITH E/C COUNS DEC 9 TANIGUCHI, DIR, ECON AFFAIRS DIV, UN BUREAU, FONOFF (KEY WORKING LEVEL OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR CHARTER), EXPRESSED PERSONAL DISAPPOINTMENT AT GOJ'S POSITION ON CHARTER VOTE.HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT
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THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY FOR JAPAN TO CHANGE FROM ABSTEN-

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TION TO NEGATIVE VOTE AT PLENARY SESSION. WHEN ASKED WHETHER SHIFT TO NEGATIVE VOTE BY FRANCE WOULD NOT REQUIRE JAPANESE DELEGATION, ON BASIS ITS INSTRUCTIONS (REF A), ALSO TO VOTE AGAINST CHARTER, TANIGUCHI MERELY SAID THAT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE.

2. SHORTLY AFTERWARDS, CHARGE RAISED SAME SUBJECT WITH DEP VICE MIN OKAWARA, WHO, ALTHOUGH NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CHARTER ISSUE, IS WELL CONNECTED AT BOTH BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL LEVELS. IN RESPONSE TO CHARGE'S EXPRESSIONS OF REGRET AT JAPAN'S ABSTENTION, OKAWARA REPLIED THAT POSITION OF JAPAN HAD BEEN DETERMINED ON BASIS OF GOJ'S ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION IN NEW YORK AND ASSERTED IT WOULD BE QTE IMPOSSIBLE UNQTE TO CHANGE ITS VOTE IN PLENARY SESSION.

3. LATER IN DAY, PRESUMABLY AS RESULT OF TWO APPROACHES DESCRIBED ABOVE AND FACT THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD RAISED CHARTER ISSUE WITH HIM DEC 5 (TOKYO 15866), VICE MIN TOGO REQUESTED CHARGE TO CALL ON HIM TO EXPLAIN GOJ VOTE ON CHARTER. TOGO STATED THAT JAPANESE DECISION HAD BEEN SUBJECT OF EXTENSIVE INTER-MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION DURING PREVIOUS WEEK, HAVING IN MIND US VIEWS AS EXPLAINED TO HIM BY AMBASSADOR HODGSON, AND SIMILAR UK VIEWS AS CONVEYED BY BRITISH PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE DURING VISIT LAST WEEK TO JAPAN. AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION, TOGO STATED, CONCLUSION REACHED THAT WHILE GOJ COULD QTE MAKE ITS POSITION CLEAR UNQTE ON PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH VOTE, IT COULD NOT CAST NEGATIVE VOTE ON CHARTER AS A WHOLE.

4. TOGO INDICATED THAT FACTORS WHICH CARRIED PARTICULAR WEIGHT IN REACHING THIS DECISION INCLUDED FACT THAT ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE WERE DIVIDED ON ISSUE AND CONCERN FOR JAPAN'S QTE POLITICAL RELATIONS UNQTE WITH AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES. TOGO ALSO REFERRED TO PRIME MINISTER TANAKA'S DISCUSSIONS WITH MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA DURING SEPTEMBER VISIT. HE EXPLAINED THAT ALTHOUGH THERE ARE QTE DIFFERENCES OF INTERPRETATION UNQTE AS TO JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON THAT OCCASION, THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION THAT DURING TALKS, TANAKA HAD EXPRESSED QTE MORAL SUPPORT UNQTE FOR POSITION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
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WITH RESPECT TO CHARTER. TOGO COMMENTED THAT JAPAN LIKELY TO SUFFER MORE THAN OTHER INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES IF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF CHARTER IN PRESENT FORM ARE ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTED, BUT INSISTED THAT CONSIDERATION OF JAPAN'S POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS ITS VULNERABILITY WITH RESPECT TO SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS, WERE OVER-RIDING, HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USG WOULD UNDERSTAND GOJ POSITION.

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5. CHARGE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH GOJ DECISION.
HE OBSERVED THAT JAPAN COULD REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO
SHARE USG CONCERNS WITH RESPECT TO SUCH PROVISIONS OF
CHARTER AS THOSE RELATING TO NATIONALIZATION, EXPROPRIATION,
AND ENDORSEMENT OF CONCEPT OF PRODUCER CARTELS. HE STATED
THAT THIS FACT TOGETHER WITH FACT THAT MAJORITY OF EC-9 HAD
VOTED AGAINST CHARTER IN SECOND COMMITTEE LED US TO HOPE
THAT JAPAN COULD RECONSIDER ITS POSITION AND CAST NEGATIVE
VOTE DURING UNGA PLENARY CONSIDERATION. HE ALSO POINTED
OUT THAT APPROVAL OF CHARTER WITHOUT SUPPORT OF KEY IN-
DUSTRIAL NATIONS COULD ONLY HAVE ADVERSE EFFECT OF ADDING
TO PRECEDENT OF INEFFECTIVE UN ACTION. TOGO SEEMED TO
ACKNOWELEGE THESE POINTS, BUT SAID THAT THERE WAS NO CHANCE
OF GOJ CHANGING ITS POSITION; IT WOULD THEREFORE ABSTAIN
DURING PLENARY VOTE.

6. COMMENT: BY ALL INDICATIONS, DECISION ON CHARTER VOTE
WAS INDEED SUBJECT OF INTENSE DISCUSSION WITHIN FONOFF,
AMONG MINISTRIES AND FINALLY QTE AT POLITICAL LEVEL UNQTE.
ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCES, RECOMMENDATION OF BUREAUCRATS
WAS THAT JAPAN OPPOSE CHARTER. WHILE THERE MAY HAVE BEEN
SOME INTRA-FONOFF DEBATE, APPARENTLY BOTH FONOFF AND MOF
BUREAUCRATS SUPPORTED THIS RECOMMENDATION. POSTION OF MITI

AND OTHER MINISTRIES' BUREAUCRATS NOT KNONWN. DESPITE SOME
GENTLE PROBING, EMBASSY HAS NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO LEARN
WHO OR WHAT CONSTITUTED QTE POLITICAL LEVEL UNQTE WHERE
APPARENT RECOMMENDATION WAS CHANGED. DECISION CLEARLY SEEMS
TO HAVE BEEN RESULT OF CONCERNS ABOUT JAPAN'S RESOURCE
VULNERABILITY AND WHAT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS CONTRADIC-
TION BETWEEN NEGATIVE VOTE AND TANAKA-ECHEVERRIA DISCUSSIONS.
LONG-RUN DANGERS TO JAPAN, HOWEVER, APPARENTLY MORE CLEARLY
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PERCEVIED AMONG BUREAUCRATS THAN QTE POLITICIANS UNQTE.
SHOESMQTH UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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